

STUDENT

ETUDIANT

VOL 4 / I5

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' UNION

NOVEMBER 1971

IV C T Y D E H T

Trotsky:**On The Ukrainian Question**

The Old Man And The See**The Church And Rome**

**The Middle Class Sell-Out:
Ukrainianism and Multiculturalism**

Exclusive:**Moroz's First Day in Prison**

Hunger Strike:**Solidarity Wins Out!**

Kosygin Demo's:**Police Brutality**

LETTERS TO 'STUDENT'



LOVE STORY

To the editor:
On Sunday October 17 I was a participant in the demonstration in Ottawa organized by the "Set Them Free Committee". I soon had to limit my participation, as the demonstration, which I thought was to show a profound concern for and solidarity with imprisoned Ukrainian dissenters in the Soviet Union, to bring this to the attention of the Canadian public, the Prime Minister and Kosygin, slowly but steadily developed (or rather degenerated) into an unruly mob scene concerned only with getting some exercise.

The whole event was a series of incidents rather than an organic whole. There was the scene of a 15-year old girl running from the Soviet consulate screaming to her friends with excitement and joy, "I broke a window". There were the young men pushing people before them against the police line (there seems to be a belief in currency that the methods of student radicals can apply to us — namely that an uncommitted person if pushed around or hit by a cop becomes a better Ukrainian). There were the moments of danger such as when a girl fell down during the shoving and pushing and somehow escaped from being trampled. There was the comic relief when a cop threw a lost shoe to its owner. After the excitement of the action and danger was over I was left with an empty feeling. I had a distinct feeling that the thing for which I had travelled to the demonstration was left unsatisfied. Now I know that it was a sterile experience; I found it impossible to display and share a love for Ukraine.

To the questions of whether the demonstration was complementary to the noble hunger strike in Winnipeg and whether the young people developed and gained an insight from the group experience the answers can only be a resounding, No!

All Ukrainians, who followed the events in the press must have felt pride from the noble self-sacrifice of the hunger-strikers. Was this aroused feeling subsequently destroyed or confused by the news of the mob action which was sponsored by the same committee?

sincerely,
Walter Petryshyn
Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario

Editor's Note: Although we do not wish to make lengthy comment on Mr. Petryshyn's theme and observations, as each person's experience and impressions are individual and based on personal values, we do regret that his generalized observations hamper his love of Ukraine and his respect for the "noble self-sacrifice of the hunger-strikers".

It is also necessary to clarify a point that Mr. Petryshyn seems unaware of: the "Set Them Free" Committee, which in the past has done the official government correspondence concerning Moroz, circulated petitions to Trudeau on his behalf, and held the Hunger Strike, did not organize the demonstration. The Committee for the Release of Valeriy Moroz, a distinct group, has the special aim of direct community action: demonstrations, rallies, etc. and it was this committee that organized the Ottawa demonstration.

this issue has been composed and orchestrated by:

sandy	robert	"ukovar
bosh	fisher	cum-lately-
killer	shtel	max
marks	feech	
goy	truf	
o'leep	senk	
and a sweet young thing who wanted to remain anonymous.		

"How do you
will 1000
Ukes at
the same
time?"



Plant mushrooms
on a freeway.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 10th CONGRESS

Шановна Редакціє!

З нагоди 54-річчя "Великої Жовтєвої Революції", яка звільнила всіх трудящих в царській Росії, пересилаю коротку статтю:

On Monday October 11th, 1971, after having been appointed to serve as President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee for the 31st consecutive year the incumbent President revealed himself as a master exponent of "creative theosophical obscurationism".

Speaking to delegates at the 10th Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee assembled in the ornate surroundings provided by Fort Garry Hotel, the President unveiled a new concept designed to beguile the glibble, complacent and impressionable while discrediting the genuine concern and idealism expressed by delegates of the younger generation.

"ORGANIC UKRAINIAN DEMOCRACY", the highest form of democracy known to Ukrainians, the President claimed is thoroughly incompatible with dissenting opinion especially if the "opposition" is vociferous and organized into "a block" directed by "sinister forces hostile to the aspirations of our community". The President neglected to identify the sinister forces.

Fifty years earlier, also at a 10th Congress, one Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, more commonly referred to by his revolutionary pseudonym of Lenin, perceiving that his institution — the CPSU — was "... on the eve of a new and fairly sharp turn ... shouldering unprecedented responsibilities and surrounded by mighty and powerful enemies ..." (1) prescribed "... the immediate dissolution of all groups without exception forming themselves on this or that platform ... (and instructed) ... all organizations to insist strictly on the inadmissibility of any kind of fractional activities." (2)

The above mentioned "RESOLUTION ON PARTY UNITY" was introduced to preserve the principle of DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM — the principle whereby the party's central leadership retained all decision making powers and purportedly made "... proletarian democracy a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy ..." (3) Like delegates to the 10th Ukrainian Canadian Congress, the delegates at the 10th Congress of the CPSU (RCP(b) in 1921) were warned not to "... be deceived by such high-sounding slogans like freedom, equality, and the will of the majority ... and those who call themselves the partisans of pure democracy ..." (4) To forestall all instances of this insidious "self-deception" and to secure maximum unanimity "the 10th Congress of the RCP(b) dissolved and outlawed all groups forming themselves on any platform."

WITHOUT THE SLIGHTEST INTENTION OF DRAWING A PERSONAL PARALLEL BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UCC AND THE NOTORIOUS AUTHOR OF THE "RESOLUTION ON PARTY UNITY", this strange analogy has been mentioned simply to indicate the precarious nature of the path onto which obsession and an insatiable desire to cling to power on the part of "established" forces within the UCC, may lead the Ukrainian community.

1. p. 168 and 249, Collected Works, vol. 32, 1965 ed.
2. p. 241 ibid.
3. p. 350, vol. 23, 1929 ed.
4. p. 276, vol. 32, 1965 ed.

O.T.M.

87 ГАРБОРД

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"RELIEF IS JUST
FROM PAGE TO PAGE"

in this issue:

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EDITORIAL

Gentle reader:

This issue of STUDENT may raise your eyebrows a little - keep reading: it may open your eyes a little more.

We have presented a variety of perspectives on political and cultural issues, all of which are the opinions of their authors, and not the policy of this newspaper (you are no doubt aware of the fact that Leon Trotsky is not on the STUDENT staff). Future issues of STUDENT will also be reflections of the people that contribute to it. We expect a deluge of criticisms and replies to the articles, all of which will be printed if signed.

The editors thank the people who contributed this time: people from Winnipeg, Edmonton, Kingston, Hamilton and Toronto. We hope that other locals will back their Congress votes with some concrete effort.

READ RIGHT ON!

Editors of STUDENT.

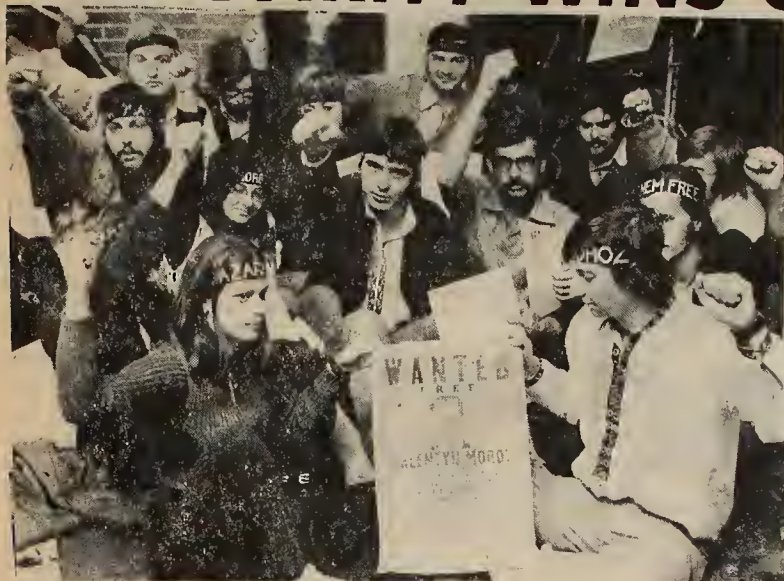
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THE MAGIC FORMULA: SOLIDARITY WINS OUT!



On Wednesday, October 6, 1971, eight students from Toronto started a Hunger Strike on the campus of the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg. We held the hunger strike in support of a 6-page letter sent to Prime Minister Trudeau prior to the hunger strike, in which we outlined certain demands (listed in the last issue of "Student"). The formula for action used by the "Set Them Free" Committee was the following:

GIVEN:

1. Prime Minister Trudeau to speak at the banquet of the Tenth Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, in Winnipeg, October 9, 1971. Trudeau's speech was to be strictly on the Multicultural policy of the Federal Government.
2. Premier Kosygin's arrival in Canada, October 18 for an 8-day visit.

PURPOSE:

The release of Valentyn Moroz from a hard labour camp in Mor-dovia.

RESULTS:

Therefore pressure has to be applied to Trudeau, in order that he make personal representation to Kosygin on behalf of Moroz.

METHOD:

Start the Hunger Strike in Winnipeg four days prior to Trudeau's arrival in Winnipeg, in order to get press coverage. Continue it until Trudeau agrees to meet with the strikers, to discuss the issues and to comply with our demands.

By Wednesday evening, our hunger strike was covered on the radio and TV, which resulted in our being joined by a professor of that

University, an older gentleman who is a "dyvizynyk", and who personally experienced the hardships of prisoners' camps. This greatly boosted our morale, as did likewise the solidarity shown by seven other students from Winnipeg. The media continued to cover this event quite extensively, and a great deal of interest was aroused on the side of the student body. The most exciting happening during our stay on campus was a confrontation with a Ukrainian communist, who kept trying to convince us that we "were making fools of ourselves".

On Friday evening we moved from campus to the Fort Garry Hotel for the opening of the Tenth Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. I was distressed to feel that the general reaction of the delegates to our strike was less positive, than that of the students at the University. Only the people who knew us personally dared to approach us — I imagine others had to find out whether their organization supported us or not. Therefore I am happy to add, that on Saturday the Congress voted to support us, and in solidarity no one at lunch that day.

On Saturday morning, Oct. 9th, a meeting was arranged for that afternoon, 3 p.m. between a delegation of the strikers, Dr. Kalba, and Mr. Thompson, an assistant to the Prime Minister. At 4:30 p.m. the strikers were notified that Prime Minister Trudeau would meet with us at 5 p.m. in his private suite.

Exactly at 5 p.m., after all 85 hours fast, we entered the suite of Mr. Thompson, and then proceeded to the suite of Trudeau, who was awaiting us with six of his advisors. His first question was "Why did you choose Valentyn Moroz? Why not Karavansky, or some of the other political prisoners?" Trudeau seemed to be very perturbed when we informed him that Moroz has become a symbol of intellectual persecution in Ukraine, that a protest movement has been built up around him in Ukraine itself. He stated explicitly that he would not interfere in the internal affairs of another country (Bangla Desh is another affair) and that if what we wanted was his intervention on behalf of one person only, i.e. Moroz, he could do this in a critique of the political system. (This could harm

future relations. Anyway, we can't expect him "to carry the burdens of the whole world on his shoulders"! quote). After a 45 minute interview, Trudeau finally agreed that we should draw up a statement of exactly what we wished him to express to Kosygin, and assured us that he would present this during Kosygin's visit to Canada. The statement was drawn up, and Trudeau did speak to Kosygin about Valentyn Moroz. Here is an excerpt of the telegram that we received from the Prime Minister's office, on October 23:

"I wish to inform you that I made such an appeal to Premier Kosygin. Mr. Kosygin replied that he had not heard of Mr. Moroz and that under those circumstances he could not commit himself to any specific course of action. Mr. Kosygin did however promise to acquaint himself with the case of Mr. Moroz so that he would be able to consider whether the appeal could be granted."

We answered this telegram with a letter to Ivan Head (Special

Assistant to the Prime Minister) asking whether Trudeau would follow up his personal appeal to Kosygin. This is the reply we received on November 4, 1971:

"Thank you for your note of October 27th. I do assure you that the Prime Minister will pursue this issue with Premier Kosygin as he has agreed to do with respect to the other questions which he raised concerning the reunification of families and the immigration of Jews. How he will choose to follow these questions up has not yet been decided but the decision will be taken on the basis of whatever will be the most effective means. I'm not therefore able to be more specific."

Premier Kosygin did indicate that a response would be forthcoming from him. When this is received we shall be in touch with you again." As probably many of you are aware, the Hunger Strike action was a very expensive one. Although we raised some money at the Tenth Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, this did not even cover one-third of the expenses. We appeal to you to send in donations, no matter how small, to the SUSK Office: 67 Harbord St., Toronto 4, Ontario. SUPPORT THE ACTION! Halyna Kowalsky



ГОЛОДІВКА

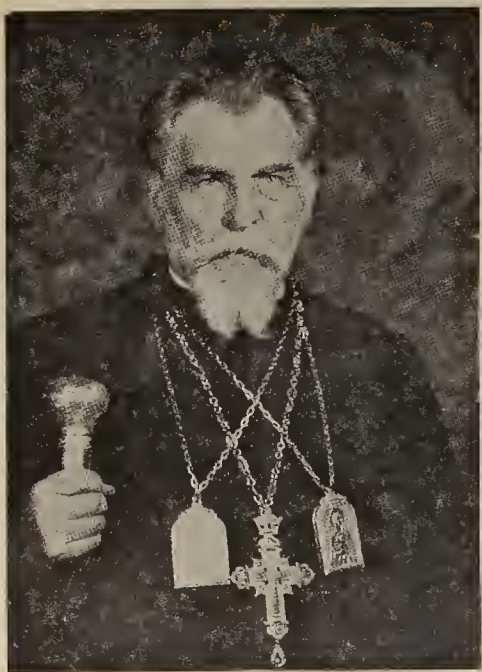
Як Вам всім відомо, Комітет "Звільнити їх" відбув 4-денну голодівку у Вінніпегу, яка скінчилася зустріччю з Прем'єром Трудо. Він представив справу звільнення Валентина Мороза Прем'єрові Косигінові, під час його поїзду в Канаді. Ця акція була успішна, але тепер Комітет має дуже великі довги. Просимо Вас, наша Громадо, підтримати нас фінансово, щоб покрити ці кошти.

(Бюро СУСК, 67 Гарборд вул., Торонто, тел.: 921-8544).



"What do you mean I'm 'wishy-washy'?"

He's a STRIKEBREAKER



Вже від перших століть після смерті Христа, громади християн інакше організували себе на сході римської держави під впливами грецької культури, а інакше на заході під впливом римської

або латинської культури. З віками розпалася могутня римська держава на дві: східню, візантійську зі столицею у Константинополі і західню із столицею в Римі. Це привело до витворення у християнстві двох окремих обрядів: на сході візантійського, а на заході римського, або латинського.

Також і організації у тих двох вітках християнства прибрала не однакові форми. На заході задержалося найвище правління у одних руках, одного патріярха заходу — папи римського, а на сході постало більше самостійних організаційних осередків, так званих патріярхатів, як Константинопіль, Антіохія, Александрія і інші.

В середніх віках, народи, що приймали християнство із заходу від Риму, підпадали під вплив і організації Риму. Ті, що прийняли християнство із східнього центру, Візантії, підпадали під вплив Візантії.

Україна прийняла християнство у 988 році від Візантії. Тому українська Церква підлягала патріярхові у Константинополі, подобию як Болгарія, Сербія, Румунія і інші.

Із поступом часу і розвитком культури і сили національних народів, кожна східня Церква старалася незалежити себе, досягнути своєї автономії. З віками незалежились і створили свої автономії Церкви: Болгарія, Сербія, Румунія і Москва.

Українська Церква від самого початку прямувала до автономії. Найвищий зверхник нашої Церкви києво-галицький Митрополит, через століття змагався, досягнувши певної автономії права, як іастановляти і висвячувати єпископів і інші. Однак через те, що ми втратили свою незалежну державу, права нашої києво-галицької Верховного Архiepіскопа, були часто иарушувані.

На північних кордонах України, виросла сильна мо-

сковська держава. Її царі допомогли незалежити свою Церкву від давньої Візантії і створити свій найвищий центр — патріярхат у 1586 р. Сильна Москва послягула не тільки на політичне життя нашого народу, але теж і на церковне, иамагаючись підчинити київсько-галицьку митрополію під московським патріярхом.

У відповідь на це в році 1596 київсько-галицький митрополит Михайл Рагоза із своїми списками відмовили послуху патріярхові Візантії, а актом Берестейської Унії приступили до єдності із патріярхом заходу, папою римським. Заключуючи угоду із папою Климентом VIII, провідники нашої Церкви застергли собі багато старих прав, на які папа погодився. Між ними було застережене право затримати обряд і мову. Висвячувати єпископів, яких висвячувати мав сам митрополит, що рядив иашою Церквою із своїм Синодом, як иайвищий зверхник иашої Церкви.

Помимо цього, що київсько-галицький митрополит мав певні права радити своєму Церквою, церковні і національні провідники для престижу намагались здобути йому титул патріярха. Про це гадусь історія вже у 1583 р., коли папський легат Поссеви порушив це питання у переговорах у Кракові. Від цього часу ідея українського патріярхату не сходить із сторінок иашої історії. Змагання ці були, на жаль, ударемнені з приводу політичних чинників, ворожих українській справі.

На ІІ Вселебському Соборі, наш иайвищий церковний достояник Верховний Архiepіскоп, київсько-галицький митрополит Йосиф Салій рішуче заговорив про иаші домагання.

Домагався для нашої Церкви патріярхату і привернення всіх старинних прав: як синодального правління, права иазначувати синодом єпископів та інших прав, які впродовж історії присвоєла собі римська курія. Ваєсь наш иаарод з ентузіазмом підтримав ці домагання иашого первосвященства.

ІІ Ватиканський собор вивдав для всіх східніх католицьких Церков осібний Декрет, у якому приобіцяв привернути старі права і привілеї, особливо права на синодальне правління, почесні приобіцяв надання почесні патріярха тим східнім Церквам, які ще до тепер того не мають. Коли український католицький єпископат під проводом Верховного Архiepіскопа иа IV архiepіскопському Синоді 4 жовтня 1969 року підніс таке домагання, то папа відмовив нам патріярхату. Це знову політичні обставини, особливо сильні впливи Москви, перешкодили у наших змаганнях. Це однак не сміє нас знеохотити, а протиную мусить загартувати нас до дальших наполегливих змагань, поки не досягнемо своєї мети.

Правда, що в самому титулі патріярха не полтає головна суть спору, що останніми роками привернув увагу вірних української католицької Церкви.

Важлишою є справа самоуправи і проблема, хто буде продовження, ст. 12

THE OLD MAN AND THE SEE

Pope Paul VI and the Vatican is at this time faced by a defiant and righteous challenge from 79-year old Josef Cardinal Slipij and 15 other bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church who have asserted their right to self-government within the Roman Catholic Church.

On Saturday, October 23, Archbishop-Major Josef Cardinal Slipij, when addressing the World Synod of Bishops in Rome, attacked the Soviet Regime for persecuting 6 million Ukrainian Catholics and accused the Vatican for "impeding" him from speaking out more strongly on behalf of his flock because of diplomatic reasons.

The spiritual leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church spoke for 15 minutes, ignoring the five-minute limit in Synod speeches. It was the first time that Cardinal Slipij has broken his silence since the Soviet government had freed him in 1963 following an argument reached between the late Nikita Khrushchev when he was Soviet Premier and the late Pope John XXIII. The Cardinal's speech was the first outspoken criticism of both the Soviet Union and the Vatican.

Cardinal Slipij made it clear in his speech that he considered that Ukrainian Catholics are persecuted not only by the Soviet regime but also by the Russian Orthodox Church controlled by the Kremlin rulers. The Cardinal stated that they still suffer the most grave persecution, but what is worse, they are defended by no one. This was a bitter reminder to the Synod's Commission on World Peace and Justice which failed to mention the fate of Ukrainian Catholics in their enslaved homeland in the 64-point paper submitted to the Synod last week.

Then, despite an official ban last

week by Jean Cardinal Villot, Pope Paul's secretary of state, Cardinal Slipij announced on Monday, November 1st, that he and the 15 bishops had been holding a canonical synod since Saturday, October 30. This is a legislative assembly of bishops summoned by an oriental patriarch to help govern his church. But Pope Paul last July refused to make Cardinal Slipij a patriarch, and the Vatican says he has no right to hold a synod. Thus, the Vatican does not recognize this assembly as a synod under canon law, and its decisions would not be accepted.

However, Cardinal Slipij and his bishops are assuming the right to nominate their own bishops, to legislate on questions such as the status of married priests in their church and to set up a permanent body of five bishops to help the cardinal govern it.

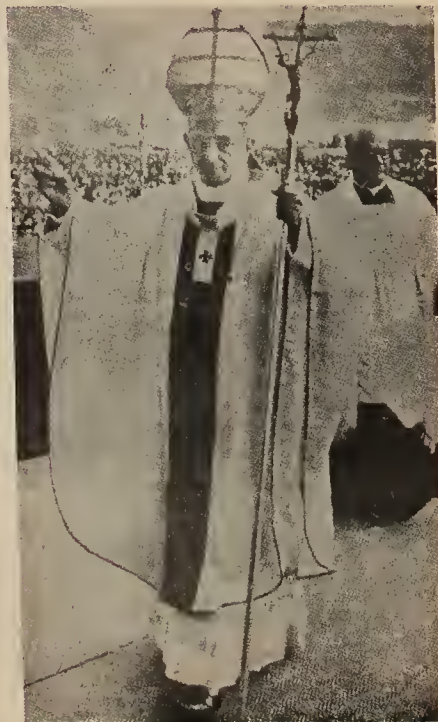
On Wednesday, November 3rd, the Ukrainian bishops at the synod informed the Pope that they had elected a permanent ruling synod and asked him to recognize it and give them his blessing. This move is tantamount to removing the Ukrainian rite from direct Vatican control, although there was no suggestion of a schism from the Roman communion itself.

Josef Cardinal Slipij, whom the Ukrainians recognize as their spiritual leader, was elected lifetime head of the synod. This in effect meant that he was assuming the powers of patriarch. The synod includes Cardinal Slipij, Archbishops Ivan Bucko of Rome, Ambrozij Senyshyn of Philadelphia, Maxim Hermaniuk of Winnipeg, and Bishop Andrej Sapelak of Argentina.

In the Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches, the Vatican Council II Fathers stated that the Catholic Churches of the East, and the Ukrainian Catholic Church as an Eastern Catholic Church, are on an

equality with that of the West, and "of equal dignity so that none of them is superior to the others by reason of rite. They enjoy the same rights and are under the same obligations, even with respect to preaching the gospel to the whole world under the guidance of the Roman Pontiff". (Section No. 3 of the Decree.) They also recognized that these Eastern Churches, "fully enjoy the right and are in duty bound to rule themselves. Each should do so according to its proper and individual procedures". (Section No. 9.) The Decree also states, definitely in reference to the Ukrainian Catholics since they alone have a major-archbishop (Josef Cardinal Slipij), that, "what has been said of patriarchs applies as well, under the norm of law, to major-archbishops who preside over the whole of some individual Church or rite". (Section No. 10.) A major-archbishop of an Eastern Church, therefore, has restored to him whatever ancient rights and privileges belonged to that Church when there was union between the East and West. If this is true, then, in the words of the Decree, the patriarchs (and their equivalent, the major-archbishops) with their synods constitute, "the superior authority for all affairs of the patriarchate, including the right to establish new eparchies and to nominate bishops of their rite within the territorial bounds of the patriarchate". (Section No. 9.) Thus, Josef Cardinal Slipij is at this time gradually trying, not through revolution, but through firm insistence and positive, rightful action, to assure these rights accorded to him in practice, and not just on paper.

S.F.



SMASH BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY!

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL THEORY WORKSHOP

A group of students at the University of Toronto has decided to research and study Ukrainian political theory from the 19th century to the present. Appreciating the fact that there is a profound lack of understanding about Ukrainian social, political and economic history, the students feel that such a study group will contribute to the amelioration of this problem by providing students, professors and knowledgeable members of the Ukrainian community with a forum in which to exchange ideas.

There are three dimensions to this workshop: 1-individual research into areas as yet not thoroughly explored, 2-guest speakers at meetings open to the entire community, 3-the intention to hold a public conference on "Ukrainian Political Thought", to be held in September of next year, involving experts from Europe, the U.S. and Canada. More information on the conference will be forthcoming.

The individual research is intensive, encompassing many themes, some of which are: 1-Origins of Ukrainian nationalist theory, 2-The Narodniki, Pan Slavism and the Russian Revolutionary Movement 3-The Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood and the Rise of European Revolutionary Consciousness 4-The Role of Religious Thought 5-Marxist Interpretations in the 1920's and early 30's 6-The Roots of Ukrainian Anarchism.

Meetings are held every third Saturday at St. Vladimir's Institute, 620 Spadina Avenue at 10 a.m. The next meeting will be held on Nov. the 20th and will feature Mr. Matla on "The Origins of Ukrainian Nationalism." For more information please phone 921-8544.

THE MESSAGE IS TO WIDEN YOUR UKRAINIAN CONSCIOUSNESS:

The message is to widen your area of Ukrainian consciousness.

In the words of Valentyn Moroz in his polemic essay "Among The Snows": "Let us look around: are there many conscious Ukrainians in the Russified, shattered Kiev? To increase their number means to fight really against Russification. Without it our work loses all meaning. A Russified, ruined Ukrainian, a person without his own I, stands before us. What will awaken his sleeping Ukrainian soul? Arguments? It has not happened yet that an apostle converted anyone by arguments to his faith. Rhetorics and eloquence are powerless in this case. Christian apostles had neither".

The Christian apostles were described by E. Renan as follows: "Limited, narrow-minded, uneducated, without any experience in the matters of propaganda, Jesus' disciples were small men in the full sense of the word".

"And", Moroz continues, "those uneducated people without experience made the Roman Empire-Christian within a short period of time. The Apostles! The present-day Ukraine needs apostles, not well-fed opportunists — realists — with their arguments! No spiritual revolution happened without the apostles. Nor is the present-day Ukrainian rebirth possible without them".

How easy it is to build an analogy between Russified Ukrainians and assimilated Ukrainians: Let me reread the words of Valentyn Moroz with a few minor changes:

"Let us look around: Are there many conscious Ukrainians in the assimilated, urbanized Toronto? To increase their number means to fight really against assimilation. Without it, our work loses all meaning. An assimilated, ruined Ukrainian, a person without his own "I", stands before us. What will awaken his sleeping Ukrainian soul?"

Yes, that is the burning question of our survival. What will awaken his sleeping Ukrainian soul? We can not just be anti-assimilation. We require an alternative. And, in Canada, the alternative is multiculturalism, in which our Ukrainian culture, including our heritage and language, develops and spreads, along with all the other cultures of Canada. But, for this to occur, we require apostles — with clear convictions and the simple realization that they are Ukrainian.

But this analogy cannot be really made. There is one major difference between Russification in Ukraine and assimilation in Canada. In the Ukraine, Russification is enforced outright on the people — they know what's happening to them and are willing to follow the apostles. In Canada, assimilation is occurring covertly, like a silent, slow serpent engulfing all in its path. The Ukrainians in this free and democratic society are unsuspecting and even oblivious to the fact that slowly but surely their culture will stagnate, disintegrate and disappear. The Ukrainian community in Canada also requires those apostles who realize what is occurring around them and are willing to strive to awaken that sleeping Ukrainian soul. We cannot just be anti-assimilation. We require an alternative.

S.F.

AND NOW, FROM THE PEOPLE WHO BROUGHT YOU "I AM CURIOUS, BLUE & YELLOW":

I, A UKRAINIAN: PART II

How about some news from our Drama Department in Toronto?

As you may already know we have a new play called "SYNJE, ZHOVTE LINSKI KOLIORI". Written by Borys Budnij during one of his heat waves, this satirical comedy is based on the habits, life styles and some idiosyncrasies of ourselves. Characteristic of the spirit of the times, it is raw, aesthetic, stimulating. From its bold, forward style and theme, it readily steps each individual into sensuality by allowing quick identification.

In so far as progress is concerned, we have savoured the sweet taste of success in having reached stage 1: that of having found all the necessary actors and actresses. At the moment we are searching to conquer the second stage of our 3-stage goal, namely: to hold at least one rehearsal with all the actors and actresses present. (Do you hear me Miss...?) The final stage is: the stage (for rehearsal).

So there, all you lucky people, if things go smoothly, it will be our personal pleasure to smother you, sometime in the early spring, with a delightful eye-opening, mind-bending two hours of truth.

Ivan P. Paska & Co.



FOCUS ON CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN POETRY

From the "Student" Newsroom

The Ukrainian Students Literary Circle of the University of Manitoba and the University of Manitoba Students Union (UMSU) on Friday, November 19 brought to Winnipeg two prominent members of the "New York Group" of Ukrainian writers — George Tarnawsky and Patricia Kilina of New York.

Two poetry reading sessions were planned for the husband and wife writers. The first, consisted of English language readings and the other featured their Ukrainian language works.

Patricia KILINA (pseudonym), received her B.A. degree (1957) from Manhattanville College in Purchase, New York and is presently an editor with The Reader's Digest magazine in New York.

The recipient of an Atlantic Monthly First Story Award in 1957, Patricia Kilina has written articles for The Reader's Digest and Antiques (she collects antique Oriental rugs as a hobby). She has also written a play and a collection of poetry and stories. The Montana-born writer also writes poetry in Ukrainian (her husband's native language) and has had three books of her poems published. She and her husband have recently collaborated on the translation of a collection of 16th century Ukrainian Cossack epic poetry, soon to be published by the Harvard University Press. She is also working on English translations of the works of Ukrainian classic writers V. Stefanyk and M. Kotsiubynsky.

In September of this year, Patricia Kilina published her first novel The Last Centennial (The Dial Press, New York, N.Y.).

Ukrainian-born, George Tarnawsky came to the U.S.A. in 1952 where he received his degree in electronics in New York. He is presently working in the field of cybernetics specializing in IBM translating.

A foremost modernist in contemporary Ukrainian literature, Tarnawsky has published 6 collections of poems: Life in the City (1956), Afternoon in Poughkeepsie (1960), Idealized Biography (1964), Without Spain, (1969) and Poems About Nothing and Other Poems on the Same Subject (1970). George Tarnawsky has also written 5 novels in English.

The 37-year-old writer also translates from Spanish. In 1967 he published Ukrainian translations of Federico Garcia Lorca and has translated other Spanish poets as well.

(CRAP) At a press conference today, The Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union announced that, in keeping with the great national interest shown in Multiculturalism, the National Executive of SUSK has decided to sponsor a contest. A prize — a free subscription to "STUDENT" — will be awarded to the worst quotation on Multiculturalism. The contest is open to all members of SUSK and their immediate family and all submissions must be received by the National Executive no later than December 25th. All correspondence should be addressed to: Multicultural Contest, 67 Harbord St., Toronto 179, Ontario.

FLASH!

From the "Student" Newsroom

(CRAP) Reliable sources have informed this reporter that the SUSK National Executive has recently initiated a new and dynamic public service for all of its constituent clubs. President of the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union told reporters today that "SUSK has decided to start an 'essay bank'". The president said "That this Union has recently and quite wrongly, been accused of not fulfilling its responsibilities to its membership. I want to make it perfectly clear", he said, "that this Union always has and always will continue to serve the needs of its students in every way possible," and such a project as the essay bank can only serve to emphasize this fact".

Needy students can obtain essays on wide ranging topics from "The Mongolian influence on Thirteenth Century China" to "Radical Perspectives of Canadian Thought" — both considered to be rather rare and obscure topics. For more information, students are asked to write to: Essay Contributions, c/o SUSK National Executive, 67 Harbord Street, Toronto 17, Ontario.



A DEMONSTRATOR outside the Ontario Science Centre during the Oct. 26 visit of Soviet Premier Kosygin is surrounded by police.

★ Charges that police used more force than was necessary during a demonstration against Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin were presented to Attorney-General Allan Lawrence this week. The charges were contained in a brief from the Ukrainian Canada Committee and in 100 affidavits from people in the demonstration on Oct. 26 outside the Ontario Science Centre. Here are excerpts from the affidavits:

Joseph Denischuk, an ordained Ukrainian Catholic priest in the Redemptorist Order, and the assistant pastor of the Holy Eucharist Ukrainian Catholic Church, 515 Broadview Ave.:

The mounted police did not attempt to control the demonstrators or to push them back by using the horses by riding parallel to the front line of demonstrators and thus pressing them back, but they simply charged the crowd head on, using their whips or clubs without discrimination on the people who happened to be within reach.

Rev. Roman Nabereznyj, of Scarborough:

The people assembled in this area had nothing to do whatsoever with the pushing of the police line and I was astonished at the ferocity of the mounted police charge. In spite of the fact that people were fleeing, and actual panic ensued, they nevertheless pursued the demonstrators at full speed and were beating everybody in sight.

Hitting everyone

Wasył Borys, a carpenter, 101 Marlee Ave.:

I especially observed a young policeman with a ruddy complexion entering on horseback from Don Mills Rd. right into the crowd, swinging his strap and hitting everyone within reach. The demonstrators shouted at him: "Watch the children." I also observed a young man of about 19 years of age about three feet away from me, shouting: "Watch the children."

The officer turned his horse on this demonstrator and hit him with his strap several times on the head. In self-defence the young man grabbed the officer's strap. At this moment, five policemen on foot jumped on the demonstrator and grabbed him by the neck and hair and carried him to a police wagon.

Zirka Radj, student of the Ontario College of Art, aged 19, of 120 Strath Ave.:

Suddenly, I heard shouts and screaming from the people up front and, as the people around me ran back, I took my sister by her hand and tried to flee also, but tripped and fell down. I looked up and saw a policeman's horse coming right at me. I became paralyzed with fear and was unable to move.

My sister screamed at me, "Get up, get up." Suddenly, the horse was on top of me and I felt a sharp pain in my right shoulder blade. While my sister was trying to help me to regain my feet, she too was struck in the head by the horse's hoof. My sister is 16 years old.

Before we were taken away to the hospital, I saw several people hiding under a tree on the lawn between St. Dennis Dr. and the apartment buildings, while a mounted policeman rode in circles around the tree swinging his stick and trying unsuccessfully to get at the people huddled under the branches.

Lesia Boychuk, 14, a student at Humberdale Collegiate Institute:

Before I knew what happened I saw a policeman mounted on a horse charging in my direction. Terror struck me. I turned around and ran for the safety of the nearest pine tree. There I circled around the tree avoiding the policeman who was charging after me.

I stopped for a second trying to catch my breath, the policeman stopped his horse and told me to "get the hell out of here you bloody honk" and then I stood up from under cover of the branches and said, "Why—so that you can stampede over me with your horse?" I don't think he heard me but instead used the chance of me being out of cover to hit me with his riding stick over the forehead.

Demonstrators tell their side

'Police were beating everybody in sight'

Toronto Daily Star
November 18, 1971.



Police have a firm grip on a bloody-nosed demonstrator outside the Ontario Science Centre.

Halyna Kowalsky, fourth year arts and science student at the University of Toronto, aged 21:

Being rather far away from the front line and being occupied with handing out candles and collecting the money for them, I had no opportunity of seeing what was going on at the street line.

All of a sudden at one point I looked up and saw six or seven policemen on horseback charging straight at us. I panicked. There were two jars of money which I threw at one girl-friend, shouting at the same time, "Jump, everybody!" We scrambled over the sides of the piled-up boxes and ran.

Twice, the charging police used these horses to trample and destroy the cartons of candles.

When the horses came back the second time, their riders deliberately made them trample on the remaining boxes. Our Students' Union went into debt of about \$500 to acquire these candles and most were deliberately destroyed by the mounted policemen.

I understand that some police officials subsequently have gone on record and said that they found sticks, tomatoes, eggs and "other missiles" hidden in these boxes.

The truth is that these mounted policemen at no time dismounted to search the boxes, nor did they attempt in any other way to discover their contents.

'All his might'

Myra Stasiw, 37 Penhurst Ave., aged 15, student at Royal York Collegiate:

I saw one mounted policeman coming back to the street from the evergreens and as he was passing the place where the candles were, I saw him stand up in his stirrups and, with all his might, bring down his club, which was not a whip but appeared to me to be a club of about two feet in length, on the head of Myron Pyskir, with whom I attended a summer camp during the past summer.

Ina Borowets, 13 Rennie Terrace: I looked around and saw a girl standing amidst a heap of boxes with candles. Her back was to the police.

A mounted policeman rode straight onto her and she fell down. The horse stepped on her leg. The policeman moved his horse on the boxes where the girl was lying. The horse trampled the boxes while the girl was under the legs of the horse.

Christina Kowalsky, a student at the University of Toronto in the faculty of arts and science, age 19:

The entire area was illuminated by spotlights and I could plainly see two police officers, mounted on horseback, standing on either side of a young man in a brown jacket who was lying on the ground between the two horses. Both police officers were bent over the man

and were hitting him over the head and body with their truncheons. The man was rolling around on the ground, trying to cover his head from the blows and was not offering any resistance to the police.

Marla Lantuch, 267 Pacific Ave.:

There were young children and elderly people who were either too frightened or too weak to run and those were beaten by the mounted policemen.

It was difficult to take the number of the police officers and some of them had taken off their caps and others had turned their caps around so that their numbers were invisible.

Gregory Kubiw, a warehouseman, aged 43:

One policeman in particular, a thin man on a black and rather lean horse, went after three children aged, I would judge, between 10 and 13 years, until he caught them as they came to and crouched at a hedge, terrified.

Nadia Lypowecy, 25 Gothic Ave., a librarian at the University of Toronto:

The thing did not make sense to me because there were three lines of police, police cruisers present, police on horses, police on the roof of the Ontario Science Centre, so that I could not see what brought about the charge of horsemen into the crowd. All that the police had to do was to form a line in front of the demonstrators and the demonstrators would not have been able

"TO SERVE AND PROTECT"

On Monday evening, October 25th, approximately four thousand Canadians, most of whom were of Ukrainian ancestry, gathered with numerous other Canadians of Eastern European backgrounds to manifest their discontent and disappointment in Prime Minister Trudeau's decision to invite Premier Kosygin to Canada, their contempt for Mr. Kosygin and, above all, what he represented. For many the evening presented an opportunity simply to stand and reflect on their past, in a sympathetic atmosphere, with other human beings they knew to have similar backgrounds and beliefs.

A distinct air of peaceful, non-violent intent emanated from the crowd.

For some reason, as yet unexplained, some members of the crowd on the northeast corner of St. Dennis Dr. and Don Mills Rd. surged or were pushed forward against the police line. Moments later, the cavalry charged, apparently to restore order. What followed was an indiscriminate use of excessive force by the police. Many people were beaten. Mounted policemen, swinging leather riding crops, repeatedly charged at single victims or into whole groups of citizens.

Some were chased as far as fifty yards and then clubbed. To this day no one can offer an explanation for the actions of the police.

Those police officers who committed the various atrocities must be dealt with by due process of the law. It is up to all of us to insist upon and ensure that a detailed public inquiry is conducted and appropriate action taken. It must also be determined whether the police overreacted or whether they were acting on official orders.

If our existence in this country is to have any significant meaning, we must insist that justice be done.



Mounted Metro policemen charge into crowd as officers on foot haul away demonstrator at Ontario Science Centre.

to move past the horses.

I saw nothing being thrown at the police prior to the cavalry charge. Approximately one-half hour prior to that some boys about 10 years old had set off some fire crackers. These fire crackers were confiscated by an older Ukrainian man who, in turn, turned them over to the policeman who had come up.

When the police on horses charged the crowd the only things thrown that I saw were candles and plastic containers. In the area where I was standing there were no rocks or other objects as there was only a lawn and paved concrete.

Lack of interest

Nicholas A. Derzko, 3 Treadgold Cres., associate professor, University of Toronto:

Everything I saw at this demonstration convinced me that at no time was there any danger of violence of any kind or of any attempt to cross Don Mills Rd. The total

lack of interest by police in whether there were injuries in the wake of the horses is thoroughly deplorable.

Adam Rozdolsky, 69 Wedgewood Dr., 51, a welder:

I observed how some police pulled some girls by their hair and also observed police on horses who in my opinion were not trying to keep order but with their horses charged into the people who were standing behind me.

I was seized by the police at a moment when I was turned around facing the demonstrators. I was not facing the police.

As we were being taken to the police station in a police truck or wagon and we all heard this.

"You DPs, we will send you back to Russia and then you can demonstrate" and he pulled out his night stick and he shook it and said, "I will break it over your heads." There were five of us in the police wagon and we all hear this.

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BILLY CAME OVER TO ME IN THE EVENING AND SAID YOU PROMISED TO TAKE ME TO THE ZOO TODAY, DADDY. AND I SAID I'M SORRY BILLY-BOY BUT DADDY HAS GOT SOMETHING ELSE HE MUST DO TONIGHT.



AND BILLY'S MOMMA SAID NOW YOU STOP BOTHERING YOUR DADDY, BILLY-BOY, AND I SAID DON'T SCOLD THE BOY, CHARLOTTE I KNOW JUST THE WAY HE FEELS BECAUSE I STILL REMEMBER WHAT IT WAS LIKE WHEN MY DADDY DISAPPOINTED ME.

LATER CHARLOTTE HOGGED ME AND CALLED ME HER HONEY-BEAR AND SAID YOU'RE TOO GENTLE FOR YOUR OWN GOOD, DANNY, AND I SAID IT'S A BAD THING WHEN A FATHER HAS TO BREAK A PROMISE TO HIS SON, THAT'S THE WAY A CHILD CAN TURN SOUR.



AND CHARLOTTE SAID NO CHILD OF OURS WILL TURN SOUR SO LONG AS A MAN LIKE YOU IS AROUND AND I HOGGED HER AND SAID YOU'RE MY LITTLE GIRL THEN I PICKED UP MY GEAR AND I SAID I'D BEST BE ON MY WAY I'M LATE AS IT IS.

WENT ONE FOR ME, CHARLOTTE YELLED, AND FOR ME TOO, DADDY, BILLY-BOY YELLED AND I YELLED BACK DON'T YOU WORRY ABOUT ME I'LL DO FINE.



AND THEN I DROVE DOWN TO THE SCIENCE CENTRE AND PUT THE DPs BACK IN THEIR PLACE.

WIVES OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS LEAD DIFFERENT LIVES

By ROMAN RAKHIMANNY

(Roman Rakhimanny is a Montreal journalist and associate editor of the Ukrainian Monthly Journal of Literature Art and Public Affairs.)

Of all the underprivileged women in the world, the wives of Soviet dissidents merit the most commiseration, for their lot is tragic.

They live in an industrially developed country and, theoretically, have all the guarantees of equal rights with other citizens. However, the wives of Soviet dissidents feel compelled to fight for the liberation of their husbands who are imprisoned in various camps in the Soviet Union.

Their devotion is not even appreciated in their own country and remains almost unknown beyond its borders. But that their husbands deserve such an effort, most have no doubt. The dissidents are the men who not only believe in the principle of human rights but also have dared to challenge the authorities in the Soviet Union.

Thus, in the last eight years or so, such names as Daniel and Sinyavski, Solzhenitsyn and General Grigorenko, Moroz and Karavansky became familiar to many a Canadian. But very few if any know the names of the women who stood by them in their most difficult moments when each wrestled in his mind with the human dilemma: to speak or not to speak against injustice. Or when the KGB men knock at a dissenter's door in the small hours of the night. Or when, months later on, in the courtroom where the government would hold a public trial to which even the defendants wife may not be admitted.

But these women — wives, as well as mothers and sisters — chose to stand by their men when they had been sent away to prison for three to 15 years of imprisonment and hard labor, often supplemented by additional years of banishment from their region.

To stand by an arrested or sentenced man in the Soviet Union means literal hell for a woman. One becomes an undesirable social element in the eyes of the party. No publicity is involved. The woman soon must vacate the job she held before her husband's trial; a loss of living quarters is not rare. Children are discriminated against in school or at work. Existence on the brink of starvation is the only future for the dissenter's family. Relatives and friends remain to the dissenter's wife the sole hope for survival.

And yet, the wives of Soviet dissidents — be they Russian, Latvian, Ukrainian, Estonian, Jewish, Lithuanian or Tatar — find the necessary strength of spirit to defy their fate. They simply won't abandon their men.

Court appeals are sought. Petitions composed with the help of friends are sent to the attorney-general, to the republican legislatures and, eventually, to the Supreme Council of the Soviet state.

If this fails (as usually expected) appeals to prominent men of letters, to state-recognized artists and influential party members are directed. The rightful case of the imprisoned man is expertly laid bare. The argument usually rests on constitutional rights, the criminal code and the principles of the UN Universal Charter of Human Rights

which was endorsed by the Soviet Union in 1948.

Typed and hand-written copies of all these memoranda, appeals, petitions and protests — circulated from hand to hand — bring a moral pressure on the authorities. Soon, appeals addressed to the United Nations and "open letters" to humanitarian or professional organizations abroad appear both clandestinely in the Soviet Union and in some newspapers of the West. For idealism and faith in a "international justice," these documents have no equal.

Through each document a fleeting image of a dissenter's wife seems to emerge, worn out with the struggle but still undaunted as, for instance, Zinaida Grigorenko. After her repeated appeals to the authorities to release her 68-year-old husband kept in the mental hospital at Chernyakhovsk (formerly the East Prussian town of Insterburg), she addressed her plea to the world's psychiatrists:

"Who will stop this gradual murder? Evidently, in our country there is no such (legal) body. That is why I am appealing to you and pass on the request that my husband conveyed to me at my last meeting with him: 'Demand the repudiation of the false medical diagnosis on me, demand my immediate release!'"

So did Gyuzel wife of historian Andrey Amalrik who was sentenced last November to three years in a hard labor camp. She wrote to the Supreme Soviet: "I know my husband's strength of mind. Neither accusations nor conviction will break him mentally. But I also know that his health is poor and I fear for his life."

Soon, however, she had to turn to public opinion abroad: "All those who cherish the right of man to express views freely and to live in dignity, I am calling to help me."

The wives of Ukrainian dissidents have been even less fortunate. Their lot is reflected in the words of Raisa Moroz, wife of the Ukrainian historian whose name came to haunt even some Canadian politicians on Parliament Hill in Ottawa. In her appeal to the Soviet Ukraine's boss, Petro Shelest, she wrote in October 1970:

"For four years I and my little son had been waiting for my husband and the boy's father to return from the imprisonment which had been inflicted upon him — as many people say — for more than dubious reasons. Now again, we are facing long years of separation. Is it really necessary for construction of the most just and humane society in the world?"

Similar irony underlies the dignified and factual appeals by Nina, wife of Sviatoslav Karavansky; there was actually no case against this poet and translator who had already spent 15 years in Stalinist prisons. His "crime" was that he raised, in writing, the issue of discrimination against minorities in the USSR — the Jews, the Baltic nationalities, the Tatars, the Volga Germans — as a concomitant of the Russification being imposed on the larger nationalities, the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, by the Kremlin.

And one is awed by the audacity of M. Ozerny's wife, a doctor herself and mother of two little boys. Already restricted in practicing her profession, because of her husband's

arrest, she found it very hard to survive. She did not lose either her courage or dignity when she witnessed the court proceedings against her husband. After many months as a prisoner, he broke down and, in his concluding plea, asked tearfully for leniency. Mrs. Ozerny called out to her husband across the court-room: "Mykhaile, don't cry!"

(High school teacher M. Ozerny got six years in a hard labor camp for discussing a hypothetical question in his history class; "If such a small country as Belgium is a sovereign nation, why is it that the Ukraine — a country comparable to France — is not?...")

Mrs. Ozerny's behavior recalls to our memory those women in the Soviet Union who are also in prison.

Daria Husiak and Halyna Didyk have been already 21 years in Soviet prisons for having dared to attend to the wounds of the Ukrainian resistance fighters. Kateryna Zarytska-Soroka, another movement supporter, has been 24 years in the "tombs of stone", to use S. Karavansky's description of Soviet prisons. They were joined there by hundreds of younger Ukrainian women who recently chose to stand up for human rights of Ukrainians.

There are thousands of men in the Soviet Union whose defence of human rights, for man and nation, is in itself a victory of the human spirit over the Soviet system. One must not forget that along with them, often standing by their men, there have been women — wives, mothers and sisters — whose unpublishable self-sacrifice has made their men's feat possible.

GETTING IT TOGETHER

Recently the news reports and the press have dealt very extensively with the Ukrainian community in Canada. You've all seen them: Prime Minister Trudeau visited the Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Winnipeg on October 8; Ukrainian students hunger strikers appeared in all the papers; the Ukrainian community holds a demonstration in Ottawa; the Ukrainian Catholic Synod of Bishops led by Cardinal Slipiy announce their intention of regaining the autonomy of their church; Mr. Kosygin arrives in Toronto and thousands of Ukrainians gather to demonstrate against him.

In all cases, there is a strong declaration of being Ukrainian. This has caused the Canadian community to question this emphasis on being Ukrainian. In fact, there exists an undercurrent of resentment — a type of cultural backlash against the Ukrainians. They wonder why these hyperactive Canadians, these ethnics, these Ukrainians are maintaining their language and their culture. Why

have they not been assimilated into the Anglo-Saxon way of life?

The reasons are many and quite complex. But, basically, it involves their background. Ukrainians are agrarian and simple folk, who have developed a love for nature, a respect for law and order, and a humanitarian feeling towards their fellow man. They possess a rich culture going back to the 9th century. They have preserved and developed their culture throughout the centuries under the most adverse conditions. They have preserved and developed their Ukrainian language, because they realize that the language is necessary for the maintenance of a culture.

In Canada, the Ukrainians have been put down throughout the decades. They have been classified as ethnics, eastern Europeans, d.p.s. This is understandable as the Anglo-Saxon majority did not make any effort to communicate with these people because of the language barrier. The Ukrainian people were looked upon as foreigners, as

second-class citizens, as people who work hard for small pay. It was the Ukrainian people who opened up the West, and who toiled in the establishment of this nation of ours. The Ukrainian people volunteered to serve in the Canadian Forces in World War II in a proportion greater than the French or any other so-called "ethnic" groups. However, there still was no change in the view that Anglo-Saxons had of these Ukrainians. This was due to the communication gap, the social gap and the inborn prejudice of misunderstanding.

But the times have changed. The Ukrainian people who immigrated two or three decades ago have raised their families. Their sons and daughters have been educated — many graduating from university. They have been immersed in the English culture and language; and yet, the majority have maintained their Ukrainian identity — their language and their culture. The question so often asked is — why? It is so very easy to become assimilated, to enter into the Anglo-

Saxon life-style, to be totally acclimatized to the commercialism, the urban-isolation, the dehumanization and the Canadiana of the Anglo-Saxon way of life. It is very easy to anglicize one's name and divest oneself of all that is Ukrainian. But, it isn't happening. There must be something about the Ukrainians heritage and the process of being raised in a Ukrainian home-environment that causes these young Ukrainians to maintain their Ukrainian language and culture. These young Ukrainians are Canadians: they refer to themselves as Canadians with a Ukrainian background, they possess a deep love for their country — Canada; they don't want to live anywhere else. However, they recognize that the possession of the Ukrainian language and culture makes them unique people. They have an alternative to the Anglo-Saxon life-style, and the majority choose the Ukrainian life-style as they perceive that this manner of living is more fulfilling to their individuality.

What then does Canadian

multiculturalism, Cardinal Slipiy's stand on independence for his church, and the anti-Kosygin demonstrations have in common? In fighting for multiculturalism, Ukrainians are insisting on recognition of their place and rights within Canadian society. In demonstrating against Kosygin, Ukrainians are peacefully manifesting their protest against the arrests and persecution of Ukrainians and their demand for the freedom of Ukraine. In supporting Cardinal Slipiy, Ukrainians are fighting for justice and freedom of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. For the Ukrainians these are all good signs that as a people they want to be recognized, their opinions should be consulted, and their fellow Canadians should respect and understand their hopes and aspirations for the future.

We're just getting it all together! It's about time they did too.

R.P. & S.F.



CHIEF "SHOOTING BULL"

.... AND SO IS HE!!

To be governed is to be watched over, inspected, spied on, directed, legislated, regulated, docketed, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, weighed, censored, ordered about... noted, registered, taxed, stamped, measured, valued, assayed, patented, licensed, authorized, endorsed, admonished, hampered, reformed, rebuked, arrested. Under pretext of the general interest, it is to be taxed, drilled, held to ransom, exploited, monopolized, exhorted, hoaxed, squeezed, robbed; then at least resistance, at the first word of complaint repressed, fined, abused, annoyed, followed, bullied, beaten, disarmed, garrotted, imprisoned, machine-gunned, judged, condemned, deported, flayed, sold, betrayed, and finally mocked, ridiculed, insulted, dishonored. That's government, that's its justice, that's its morality!

-Provdhon: (1809-1865)

For an Independent Soviet Ukraine

The Ukrainian Question

By LEON TROTSKY



Trotsky's article on the Ukraine first appeared in the *Socialist Appeal* on May 9, 1939. Like so many of the writings of the great Marxist master, his analysis in this article has withstood the test of the years and the turbulent events they encompassed. Today, more than a decade later the struggle of Yugoslavia against the oppressive Great Russian chauvinism of the Kremlin confirms what Trotsky wrote in 1939.

The ruthless offensive against Tito is, in reality, only the latest and most dramatic expression of what Trotsky called the "outright strangulation of any kind of national development of the peoples of the USSR." By an ironic quirk of history, the man who made his reputation as a Marxist expert on the national question, has "solved" the problem of the national minorities by methods no Czar would have dared to employ. During the war and since, Stalin has uprooted entire peoples from their ancestral homes and shipped them in cattle cars to the barren wastelands of Siberia. This was punishment for murmuring against the Kremlin whip and "security" against a possible revolt.

As far as the Ukraine itself is concerned, here too Trotsky proved correct if not in detail then in the essence of the matter. Hitler's first and easy victories in the war resulted not least of all from the dissatisfaction and hatred towards the Kremlin which Stalin's policy had engendered in the Ukrainian people.

Recent reports of "partisan bands" operating in the Ukraine and of groupings of anti-Stalinist Ukrainian refugees in exile indicate that the embers of the Ukrainian problem are still glowing and that Trotsky's slogan — A united, free and independent workers' and peasants' Ukraine — has lost none of its timeliness.

"Only hopeless pacifist blockheads are capable of thinking that the emancipation and unification of the Ukraine can be achieved . . . by decisions of the League of Nations. . . . The program of independence for the Ukraine in the epoch of imperialism is directly and indissolubly bound up with the program of the proletarian revolution. It would be criminal to entertain any illusions on this score." The Yugoslav worker-communists would do well to ponder these lines.

A second article by Trotsky replying to critics of his program for the Ukraine will appear in the December Fourth International.

The Ukrainian question, which many governments and many "socialists" and even "communists" have tried to forget or to relegate to the deep strongbox of history, has once again been placed on the order of the day and this time with redoubled force. The latest aggravation of the Ukrainian question is most intimately bound up with the degeneration of the Soviet Union and of the Comintern, the successes of fascism and the approach of the next imperialist war. Crucified by four states, the Ukraine now occupies in the fate of Europe the same position that was once occupied by Poland; with this difference—that world relations are now infinitely more tense and the tempo of development accelerated. The Ukrainian question is destined in the immediate future to play an enormous role in the life of Europe. It was not for nothing that Hitler so noisily raised the question of creating a "Greater Ukraine," and likewise it was not for nothing that he dropped this question with such stealthy haste.

A Question That Must Not Be Ignored

The Second International, expressing the interests of the labor bureaucracy and aristocracy of the imperialist states, completely ignored the Ukrainian question. Even its left wing did not pay the necessary attention to it. Suffice it to recall that Rosa Luxemburg, for all her brilliant intellect and genuinely revolutionary spirit, found it possible to declare that the Ukrainian question was the invention of a handful of intellectuals. This position left a deep imprint even upon the Polish Communist Party. The Ukrainian question was looked upon by the official leaders of the Polish section of the Comintern as an obstacle rather than a revolutionary problem. Hence the constant opportunist attempts to shy away from this question, to suppress it, to pass over it in silence, or to postpone it to an indefinite future.

The Bolshevik party, not without difficulty and only gradually under the constant pressure of Lenin, was able to acquire a correct approach to the Ukrainian question. The right to self-determination, that is, to separation, was extended by Lenin equally to the Poles and to the Ukrainians. He did not recognize aristocratic nations. Every inclination to evade, or postpone the problem of an oppressed nationality he regarded as a manifestation of Great Russian chauvinism.

After the conquest of power, a serious struggle took place in the party over the solving of the numerous national problems inherited from old Czarist Russia. In his capacity as People's Commissar of Nationalities, Stalin invariably represented the most centralist and bureaucratic tendency. This evinced itself especially on the question of Georgia and on the question of the Ukraine. The correspondence dealing with these matters has remained unpublished to this day. We hope to publish a section of it—the very small section which is at our disposal. Every line of Lenin's letters and proposals vibrates with an urge to accede as far as possible to those nationalities that have been oppressed in the past. In the proposals and declarations of Stalin, on the contrary, the tendency toward bureaucratic centralism was invariably pronounced. In order to guarantee "administrative needs," i.e., the interests of the bureaucracy, the most legitimate claims of the oppressed nationalities were declared a manifestation of petty-bourgeois nationalism. All these symptoms could be observed as early as 1922-23. Since that time they have developed monstrously and have led to outright strangulation of any kind of independent national development of the peoples of the USSR.

The Bolshevik Conception of Soviet Ukraine

In the conception of the old Bolshevik party, Soviet Ukraine was destined to become a powerful axis around which the other sections of the Ukrainian people would unite. It is indisputable that in the first period of its existence Soviet Ukraine exerted a mighty attractive force, in national respects as well, and aroused to struggle the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intelligentsia of Western Ukraine enslaved by Poland. But during the years of Thermidorian reaction, the position of Soviet Ukraine and together with it the posing of the Ukrainian question as a whole changed sharply. The more profound the hopes aroused, the keener was the disillusionment. The bureaucracy strangled and plundered the people within Great Russia, too. But in the Ukraine matters were further complicated by the massacre of national hopes. Nowhere did restrictions, purges, repressions and in general all forms of bureaucratic hooliganism assume such murderous sweep as they did in the Ukraine in the struggle against the powerful, deeply-rooted longings of the Ukrainian masses for greater freedom and independence. To the totalitarian bureaucracy, Soviet Ukraine became an administrative division of an economic unit and a military base of the USSR. To be sure, the Stalin bureaucracy erects statues to Shevchenko but only in order more thoroughly to crush

the Ukrainian people under their weight and to force it to chant paeans in the language of Kobzar to the rapist clique in the Kremlin.

Toward the sections of the Ukraine now outside its frontiers, the Kremlin's attitude today is the same as it is toward all oppressed nationalities, all colonies, and semi-colonies, i.e., small change in its international combinations with imperialist governments. At the recent 18th Congress of the "Communist Party," Manuilsky, one of the most revolting renegades of Ukrainian communism, quite openly explained that not only the USSR but also the Comintern (the "gyp-joint," according to Stalin's formulation) refused to demand the emancipation of oppressed peoples whenever their oppressors are not the enemies of the ruling Moscow clique. India is nowadays being defended by Stalin, Dimitrov and Manuilsky against Japan, but not against England. Western Ukraine they are ready to cede forever to Poland in exchange for a diplomatic agreement which appears profitable at the present time to the bureaucrats of the Kremlin. It is a far cry from the days when they went no further than episodic combinations in their politics.

Stalin, Hitler and the Ukraine

Not a trace remains of the former confidence and sympathy of the Western Ukrainian masses for the Kremlin. Since the latest murderous "purge" in the Ukraine no one in the West wants to become part of the Kremlin satrapy which continues to bear the name of Soviet Ukraine. The worker and peasant masses in the Western Ukraine, in Bukovina, in the Carpatho-Ukraine are in a state of confusion: Where to turn? What to demand? This situation naturally shifts the leadership to the most reactionary Ukrainian cliques who express their "nationalism" by seeking to sell the Ukrainian people to one imperialism or another in return for a promise of fictitious independence. Upon this tragic confusion Hitler bases his policy in the Ukrainian question. At one time we said: but for Stalin (i.e., but for the fatal policy of the Comintern in Germany) there would have been no Hitler. To this can now be added: but for the rape of Soviet Ukraine by the Stalinist bureaucracy there would be no Hitlerite Ukrainian policy.

We shall not pause here to analyze the motives that impelled Hitler to discard, for the time being at least, the slogan of a Greater Ukraine. These motives must be sought in the fraudulent combinations of German imperialism on the one hand and on the other in the fear of conjuring up an evil spirit whom it might be difficult to exorcise. Hitler gave Carpatho-Ukraine as a gift to the Hungarian butchers. This was done, if not with Moscow's open approval then in any case with confidence that approval would be forthcoming. It is as if Hitler had said to Stalin: "If I were preparing to attack Soviet Ukraine tomorrow I should have kept Carpatho-Ukraine in my own hands." In reply, Stalin at the 18th Party Congress openly came to Hitler's defense against the slanders of the "Western Democracies." Hitler intends to attack the Ukraine? Nothing of the sort! Fight with Hitler? Not the slightest reason for it. Stalin is obviously interpreting the handing over of Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary as an act of peace.

For a Free, Independent Soviet Ukraine!

This means that sections of the Ukrainian people have become so much small change for the Kremlin in its international calculations. The Fourth International must clearly understand the enormous importance of the Ukrainian question in the fate not only of Southeastern and Eastern Europe but also of Europe as a whole. We are dealing with a people that has proved its viability, that is numerically equal to the population of France and occupies an exceptionally rich territory which, moreover, is of the highest strategic importance. The question of the fate of the Ukraine has been posed in its full scope. A clear and definite slogan is necessary that corresponds to the new situation. In my opinion there can be at the present time only one such slogan: A united, free and independent workers' and peasants' Soviet Ukraine.

This program is in irreconcilable contradiction first of all with the interests of the three imperialist powers, Poland, Rumania, and Hungary. Only hopeless pacifist blockheads are capable of thinking that the emancipation and unification of the Ukraine can be achieved by peaceful diplomatic means, by referendums, by decisions of the League of Nations, etc. In no way superior to them of course are those "nationalists" who propose to solve the Ukrainian question by entering the service of one imperialism against another. Hitler gave an invaluable lesson to those adventurers by tossing (for how long?) Carpatho-



cont'd. Pg. 10.

UKRAINIANS HAVE A CHANTS!

The Ukrainian Chant of Kiev began to develop in the tenth century under the influence of Byzantine chant. However, the extent of the influence of Byzantine chant on the origin of Ukrainian chant, and the presence of Byzantine elements in contemporary Ukrainian chant, cannot be determined very precisely.

There are two basic categories of Ukrainian chant, the official and the common (daily) chants. A type of common chant native to the people of Kiev is known to have been in use as early as the tenth century, prior to the official acceptance of Christianity in 988. When the Byzantine chant was introduced officially in 988, it met with considerable opposition from the partisans of the common chant. This common chant, certainly with some Byzantine influences, became the official chant (znamennij rospiv) of the Ukrainian Church, and also the basis of later Muscovite chants.

The main difference between the musical systems of Byzantium and early Ukraine lies in the very structure of the scales used by each, thereby causing the modes constructed from these scales to differ. The scale of Ukrainian chant is comprised of conjunctive tetrachords (the top note of the previous tetrachord being at the same time the bottom note of the next tetrachord, each tetrachord

OR HOW'S YOUR TETRACHORD (TONE, TONE, SEMI-TONE)

being comprised of tone, tone, semi-tone). But in the Byzantine System, various combinations of both conjunctive and disjunctive tetrachords are used.

Another factor which differentiates Ukrainian chant from the Byzantine is the Arabo-Iranian music form called the "Maqam" which is also found in the "stychyry" (a type of hymn) of the Ukrainian Church. In this form two or three melodies are repeated one after another either exactly or with some variation, often with a unique melody used only once at a certain point in the scheme. This Near Eastern form (common also to the Serbs who acquired it from the Near East by way of Mount Athos) is much less apparent in Byzantine chant and doesn't seem to exist at all in Russian chant.

It is also interesting to note that in the music system of Azerbaijan, one of the modes ("rast") is identical to the full scale used in the official Ukrainian chant of the Hirmologion (a liturgical book containing the notation of the chants). These and many other musical traits common to Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and neighboring countries indicate a common source in the Near East.

Therefore, the origin of Ukrainian Church music is less Byzantine and

more an original creation of the Old Ukrainians of Kievan Rus'. Koshyts, in his work Echoes of the Past, has shown the obvious connection of the official Hirmologion chant with certain contemporary folk songs. The musicologist Antonowycz, in his study of the antiphons of the Ukrainian Church, concludes that these antiphons contain cadences and melodic idioms characteristic of the Ukrainian folk song. Although he considers these melodies to have been structured upon the melodic basis of Old-Byzantine Church melodies (agreeing to some extent with the Russian Musicologist and composer Preobrazhensky), he concludes that in most cases they must be regarded as new creations because of the strong influence the Ukrainian music system had had on them. However, one could turn this argument around and say that the Ukrainian folk song was influenced by this chant. Although this may be true to a certain extent of later times, it is clear that in its formative stage up to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when it became substantially what it is today, this chant was formed from the material the natives had at hand, and could not have had much, if any, influence on the folk music at the time when the chant itself was still being formed.

The close association of this chant

with the folk music of the Ukraine is a good indication that this chant is indigenous to the Ukraine only and cannot be considered Russian. Ukrainian folk music is as different from Russian folk music as the Ukrainian language is from the Russian (there are no transitional dialects between these languages which began to differentiate at least as early as the thirteenth century). This chant reached the northern cities by means of copies of the books of Kiev, and in this way Ukrainian chant became the basis of Russian chant. The Russian composer Voznesensky was well aware of the differences in the various redactions of this chant. In the Ukrainian redactions Voznesensky said he saw "the folk song of the West" (that is, Ukraine), and continues, "This is the same chant, only of another south-western redaction. This is the chant of South-western Rus'". The distinction between Ukrainian and Russian folk music is made clearly by Mikola Lysenko who concluded from his research that the Ukrainian folk song has its origin in the Ancient Greek (not Byzantine) modes, whereas the Russian folk song adheres more or less to the church modes of the middle ages. The Russian folk song is consistently diatonic with irregular rhythms, as contrasted with the moderate chromaticism and greater rhythmic

consistency of the Ukrainian folk song.

In the development of Ukrainian Church music, unofficial or common chants eventually came into being in different regions of Ukraine. Most of these chants are also structured on the same scale as that of the official chant. In Galicia, a province of Western Ukraine, this chant is the "samolivka" style. The liturgical folk melodies of this chant are derived basically from those of the Pochaiev Monastery, but the straight recitative element, as in the "sviat" (Sanctus), for instance, ultimately has for its source the very ancient funeral laments of Ukraine. These laments are confined to a range of a third or fourth, (that is, they utilize only three or four notes) and are performed without instruments. From these laments developed the Kozak epic-lyric "duma", the themes of which are based on historical events of the Kozak Ukraine of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They are recited to the accompaniment of the bandura, a lute-like instrument of Near-Eastern or Asian origin. (It is interesting to note that as similarities exist between Ukrainian and Serbian Church music, so also in this case of the "duma" and the Serbian epos). Since the recitative style is so characteristic of Ukrainian folk music, it was only natural for it to become part of Church chant. The practical advantage of these common chants is that they are brief and, therefore, ideal for daily use.

John Sembrat, OSBM

TROTSKY - CONTINUED

LISTEN TO HYMN!

Ukraine to the Hungarians who immediately slaughtered not a few trusting Ukrainians. Insofar as the issue depends upon the military strength of the imperialist states, the victory of one grouping or another can signify only a new dismemberment and a still more brutal subjugation of the Ukrainian people. The program of independence for the Ukraine in the epoch of imperialism is directly and indisputably bound up with the program of the proletarian revolution. It would be criminal to entertain any illusions on this score.

Soviet Constitution Admits Right of Self-Determination

But the independence of a United Ukraine would mean the separation of Soviet Ukraine from the USSR, the "friends" of the Kremlin will exclaim in chorus. What is so terrible about that?—we reply. The fervid worship of state boundaries is alien to us. We do not hold the position of a "united and indivisible" whole. After all, even the constitution of the USSR acknowledges the right of its component federated peoples to self-determination, that is, to separation. Thus, not even the incumbent Kremlin oligarchy dares to deny this principle. To be sure it remains only on paper. The slightest attempt to raise the question of an independent Ukraine openly would mean immediate execution on the charge of treason. But it is precisely this despicable equivocation, it is precisely this ruthless hounding of all free national thought that has led the toiling masses of the Ukraine, to an even greater degree than the masses of Great Russia, to look upon the rule of the Kremlin as monstrously oppressive. In the face of such an internal situation it is naturally impossible even to talk of Western Ukraine voluntarily joining the USSR as it is at present constituted. Consequently, the unification of the Ukraine presupposes freeing the so-called Soviet Ukraine from the Stalinist boot. In this matter, too, the Bonapartist clique will reap what it has sown.

But wouldn't this mean the military weakening of the USSR?—the "friends" of the Kremlin will howl in horror. We reply that the weakening of the USSR is caused by those ever-growing centrifugal tendencies generated by the Bonapartist dictatorship. In the event of war the hatred of the masses for the ruling clique can lead to the collapse of all the social conquests of October. The source of defeatist moods is in the Kremlin. An independent Soviet Ukraine, on the other hand, would become, if only by virtue of its own interests, a mighty southwestern bulwark of the USSR. The sooner the present Bonapartist caste is undermined, upset, crushed and swept away, the firmer the defense of the Soviet Republic will become and the more certain its socialist future.

Against Imperialism and Moscow Bonapartism

Naturally an independent workers' and peasants' Ukraine might subsequently join the Soviet Federation, but voluntarily, on conditions which it itself considers acceptable which in turn presupposes a revolutionary regeneration of the USSR. The genuine emancipation of the

Ukrainian people is inconceivable without a revolution or a series of revolutions in the West which must lead in the end to the creation of the Soviet United States of Europe. An independent Ukraine could and undoubtedly will join this federation as an equal member. The proletarian revolution in Europe, in turn, would not leave one stone standing of the revolting structure of Stalinist Bonapartism. In that case the closest union of the Soviet United States of Europe and the regenerated USSR would be inevitable and would present infinite advantages for the European and Asiatic continents, including of course the Ukraine too. But here we are shifting to questions of second and third order. The question of first order is the revolutionary guarantee of the unity and independence of a workers' and peasants' Ukraine in the struggle against imperialism on the one hand, and against Moscow Bonapartism on the other.

The Ukraine is especially rich and experienced in false paths of struggle for national emancipation. Here everything has been tried: the petty-bourgeois Rada, and Skoropadski, and Petlura, and "alliance" with the Hohen-zollerns and combinations with the Entente. After all these experiments, only political cadavers can continue to place hope in any one of the fractions of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie as the leader of the national struggle for emancipation. The Ukrainian proletariat alone is capable not only of solving the task—which is revolutionary in its very essence—but also of taking the initiative for its solution. The proletariat and only the proletariat can rally around itself the peasant masses and the genuinely revolutionary national intelligentsia.

At the beginning of the last imperialist war the Ukrainians, Melenevski ("Basok") and Skoropis-Yelikhovskii, attempted to place the Ukrainian liberation movement under the wing of the Hohenzollern general, Ludendorff. They covered themselves in so doing with left phrases. With one kick the revolutionary Marxists booted these people out. That is how revolutionists must continue to behave in the future. The impending war will create a favorable atmosphere for all sorts of adventurers, miracle-hunters and seekers of the golden fleece. These gentlemen, who especially love to warm their hands in the vicinity of the national question, must not be allowed within artillery range of the labor movement. Not the slightest compromise with imperialism, either fascist or democratic! Not the slightest concession to the Ukrainian nationalists, either clerical-reactionary or liberal-pacifist! No "People's Fronts"! The complete independence of the proletarian party as the vanguard of the toilers!

For an International Discussion

This appears to me the correct policy in the Ukrainian question. I speak here personally and in my own name. The question must be opened up to international discussion. The foremost place in this discussion must belong to the Ukrainian revolutionary Marxists. We shall listen with the greatest attention to their voices. But they had better make haste. There is little time left for preparation! April 22, 1939.

when will you learn
i am not a cast-off
but a man
like any other.
i
have feelings
emotions
and other necessities
which all of you
seem to
carry around
in your bac' poc'et
how long will it be
before you spea'
on my behal'
i
have become tired
of shouting alone in a crowd
my voice grows hoarse
and my legs they are tired
and i am sick of walking around
if i have done wrong
i beg forgiveness
for i have been looking
into many hip poc'ets
and this has muddled me
and yet
you probably wonder
he is no man
his feelings are goin' under
but somehow
if no help will come my way
my solutions
i'll still try to render
and i won't forget
the purpose
of all this anguish
it's that your lookin'
for a loc'
for your new golden zipper
and a tailor
to sew a new hip poc'et
i can understand
it's clearer now
after all
how can
everybody
fit
into the same
pair
of pants
banana

-Mychajlo

MULTICULTURALISM & UKRAINIANISM:

MIDDLE CLASS SELLOUT

Note to the Editor:

I want your readers to understand that this was written in haste, anger and with bitterness. Such a combination of factors has led to some rambling and gross grammatical injustices and for this I beg the reader's pardon. Nevertheless, the events of the past few months within the Ukrainian community and Trudeau's response to the recommendations of the Fourth Volume of the B&B Commission have forced me to speak out against what I feel has been the middle class sell-out by some of our leaders both in youth and in other organizations. My arguments are directed not at them personally but rather to their lack of analysis or more precisely, their glib acceptance of a comfortable analysis, which has prompted them to act as they have without fully realizing the consequences. Because of this short-coming I feel that they are leading us down a rosy path to extinction while offering us nothing in return but hypocrisy.

Although it hardly necessitates repeating, I think it obligatory to also point out that the opinions expressed below should not be taken to represent either the position of "Student" or that of the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union. I take full responsibility for what appears below and welcome the opportunity to defend it on all grounds. Let us once and for all get down to the real issues!

THE BACKGROUND

It is about time to finally expose multiculturalism and Ukrainianism to the test of reality. In this article I hope to explore some of the problems that we have not as yet begun to examine in detail. It will be the argument here, that because of the substance of the Federal Government's reaction to the Fourth Volume, the Ukrainian community is now forced to re-examine its possibilities of survival either within or without the present economic, social and political system. Thus I will personally explore the nature of the Federal Government's response, and secondly, analyze the operative alternatives open to us within that framework.

For more than two years now, various members of this Union, including myself, have worked hard to bring this issue to the forefront of Canadian concern. Based on a humanitarian conception of ethnicity many of us felt that our dehumanizing technological society would have to provide reference groups for individuals already alienated both from themselves and from their society. Needless to say we thought that multiculturalism, i.e. the strengthening of ethno-cultural ties would best serve this purpose. Government support was sought so that this process would be guaranteed by continued financial aid from the many Federal Government agencies dealing with cultural affairs. Our reasoning being, that ethnicity and an individual's participation within his ethno-cultural group were not subject to the same voluntary exigencies such as free choice common to all voluntary associations. Even more important we felt that with such guarantees a more realistic identity would emerge for Canada taking into account the continually increasing numbers of the so called "Third Element" who are neither of Anglo-Saxon nor of French-Canadian heritage.

All along there were protests from the neo-colonial Anglo-Saxons and the parochial French-Canadian middle class. The former was greatly insulted that we "ethnics" were refusing to dance and sing at their teas in those "charming" and "pretty" folk costumes. The latter group who should have considered itself our strongest ally has understandably fought hard to legitimate their linguistic aspirations in order to be able to

continue to maintain a foothold on Canadian financial circles while retaining their cultural identity. At the same time however, they have continued to exploit the Quebec workers, but this time in French. So, both groups considered our demands as threats, endangering the status quo they were so desperately trying to protect — as if we wanted a piece of their rotten pie!

Being pressured from all sides to finally acknowledge the real Canada, our Prime Minister, Pierre Elliot Trudeau, announced before the House of Commons that the Federal Government would implement "a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" and that it would provide support in three ways.

+ "First, resources permitting, the government will seek to assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to 'continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, and a clear need for assistance for the small and weak groups no less than for the strong and highly organized."

+ "Second, the government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society."

+ "Third, the government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity."

Yet despite the tone of paternal condescension so evident in his speech the question still remains: Multiculturalism for how long and for whom?

MULTICULTURALISM FOR HOW LONG?

Ukrainians, it seems, feel they will benefit enormously from such a policy, but the truth of the matter is that Trudeau's programme denies the fundamental tenet of multiculturalism. For the fact is that multiculturalism will remain the official identity of Canada for as long as the ethno-cultural groups involved can "exhibit a desire for survival and development". Thus, we as Ukrainians, as a viable entity, have been relegated to the status of a voluntary organization. Having made no definite commitment to guaranteeing the existence of ethno-cultural groups in Canada, Trudeau has decided to wait patiently until we die out.

But really! Should we be surprised by this man's position: a man, who has prided himself on his "politique fonctionnelle" — functional politics? To illustrate by an example, Dr. Lupul from the University of Alberta, in the summer of 1963, at a conference in Charlottetown, P.E.I., asked Trudeau, then an unassuming academic, what he thought about Ukrainians and their demands for linguistic and cultural equality. Pierre, in his usual manner responded by asking Dr. Lupul: "How many of them are there and how long will they last?" At least the man has the virtue of being consistent, but not the humility to admit, as one sage has said, that he could be consistently wrong.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that unlike the Federal Government's definitive commitment to French Canadian linguistic and cultural demands, Trudeau and his cohorts have given us a temporary stop-gap measure in the hope that we will very soon solve his problem. But even despite his efforts, it appears to me that we have already given Trudeau the solution to his problem not so much by accepting uncritically — like dogs — the bone that has been tossed to us by a hypocritical master, but rather by the shortcomings within the Ukrainian community, more specifically that of its leadership. It is to this woeful unpreparedness to a

dangerous challenge — the challenge of our continuing survival — to which I would like to address myself in the following paragraphs.

As I see it, we are not ready to deal with external financial assistance for the simple reason that we do not, as yet, have a collective Ukrainian consciousness. I realize that this is a hackneyed observation but I want to argue that this shortcoming springs largely from a lack of analysis i.e. the inability on the part of our leadership and of our intellectuals to integrate the forces and issues in the life of every Ukrainian Canadian and to conceptualize these processes into a total and humanistic idea of Ukrainianism. In short, we have failed to channel these forces into a dynamic consciousness, an awareness if you will, which would transcend the intuitive sense of community that we all share. In Martin Buber's language, an "Essential We".

"By WE I mean a community of several independent persons, who have reached a self and self-responsibility, the community resting on the basis of this self and self-responsibility, and being made possible by them. The special character of the WE is shown in the essential relations existing ... between its members."

I do not believe that the lack of even an attempt to conceptualize our experiences is a result of intellectual poverty, but rather of an unwillingness to be self-critical. In this spirit, in order to open the discussion, I attempt the following critique.

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE

"The Government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, ..."

Firstly, it's a worn but frighteningly valid cliché that "money kills". The examples are numerous but the most vivid one is from the recent past: the petty and paranoic "RUMK" squabbles over which youth organization should get more money — insane and selfish divisions at a time when creative activity and feelings of solidarity should have been at their height. Instead, money provided by the Federal Government served only to divide us and perpetuate bitterness. And even a short while ago, at the Ukrainian Canadian Committee Congress in October of this year, various members of youth organizations, which, openly showing some concern for our future in Canada, were nevertheless, wallowing in the sublimated hostility and self-pity of that bitter experience. Yet how paradoxical that they remained unwilling to take the necessary steps to rectify the situation for the future by evolving a strong "RUMK" executive which would speak for all groups before the bureaucrats, politicians and the Ukrainian community.

We often hear people refer to historical examples to try and explain why Ukrainians do not have a nation-state of their own. Usually the analysis ends with the conclusion that we have been too selfish, too narrow-minded, within our partisan attachments, to consider the broader perspective so crucial to a true "national" consciousness. With this in mind and with the evidence of the most recent past I would like to add that these leaders are again doing the same thing — leading us all down the path to unnecessary division and "obscurantism". In this instance we don't have to be "bought out" by promised funds from Ottawa; we will serve Trudeau's purposes best by just continuing to destroy ourselves!

REPRESSIVE FORCES

To fight this pettiness and to develop a collective consciousness is not an easy thing. Having grown up in a society, which from the very beginning tries to emasculate us by tearing out our cultural roots, it becomes very clear that this type of repression has serious consequences for individuals. Many times torn by doubt as to our identity, we continually ask: "Are we Canadians or are we Ukrainians?" Most of us have answered this. The two are not mutually exclusive but rather concomitant to one another. For those who are not satisfied with this, I challenge them to begin to reflect on just who is a Canadian?

But this aside for now. The point is that when we meet, either as representatives or friends there remains this same conditioned feeling of uncertainty, of inferiority and doubt. It is asking too much then, that we begin to realize that many of the barriers to solidarity are artificial, forced down our throats at an early age by those condescending public school teachers who tried to make us "Canadians". Damn them all!

The sterilizing process doesn't stop there. In a society which thinks nothing of perpetuating fear among the working class by waving the threat of unemployment under their noses, and tolerates the steady alienation of man from man, it becomes painfully obvious that this kind of system has no conscience. This alienation and opportunism, which results from the often meaningless tasks which we perform in the economic and educational system becomes transplanted into the interrelationships among us all. And how evident it becomes when we sit down together to talk about our mutual problems and their possible solutions!

HUMANISM AND UKRAINIANISM

Please do not misunderstand me; my argument does not in any way condone a total separation from these dehumanizing forces. That would be pure escapism. Rather, I am trying to point out that we are well on our way to escaping if we continue to stress that multiculturalism and Ukrainianism will be a truly humanizing experience, that participation in ethno-cultural affairs will somehow give us a sense of individuality and fulfillment in a technological world dedicated to "technique" and to fabricating hollow men. Let us awaken to the fact that by spouting multiculturalism we are in fact creating islands of retreat from the bitter realities of a repressive society. Nothing serves the interests of the ruling class better than if these islands of retreat bring humanity to the hearts of those very same people they so unscrupulously exploit!

And even from another perspective it has become painfully obvious that despite the line touted by former SUSK presidents, participation in Ukrainian community life is not an enriching experience. You can be assured that you will profit more by joining fraternities, T-groups and by finding a guru. For like Machiavelli's exhortation to the "innocent and pure", politics, and

therefore an active desire to change the direction of the Ukrainian community in Canada, takes tremendous effort and selflessness, sometimes to the detriment of what is euphemistically called "self development". For involvement necessitates making a decision as to whether or not you are satisfied with the present condition of society and by extension of the Ukrainian community in Canada. Unless you are seriously conscious of your commitment, then for God's sake, don't become president or what-not in any organization, not to speak of the Ukrainian community. This lack of critical self-awareness plays into the hands of the ruling class, who you can be assured, have a definite purpose in life.

THE ALTERNATIVE

The alternative to this state of affairs, is not only obvious but absolutely necessary. We must begin to see that pollution, abortion exploitation of the working class (Ukrainians too, dear reader) the Vietnams, the growing alienation, are a part-and-parcel of the products of values of the ruling class which will never, never allow the creative development of human potential. And there is no question in my mind that we, as Ukrainians and human beings, must tackle these injustices in order to better understand the human condition. Then, and only then, will we think and act in a totality and not within an artificial "cultural" ghetto. In other words, our Ukrainianism must be total. For what good is it to me if my children will be able to speak Ukrainian in the schools if the same injustices and the same exploiters continue to repress the full development of these children and of all mankind?

Ultimately, the whole question of our development in Canada and indeed the Ukraine must be put in the light of whether or not we choose to live standing up or crawling on our knees. Like the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War, a growing number of my contemporaries are choosing to rebel rather than accept comfortable ideologies and the false promises that go along with them. Let us restore our human dignity and end this shameful humiliation of mankind!

— To be continued —

Part II will deal with our Analytical Poverty: The legitimizations of our middle-class.

Yuri Boshyk

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ГОЛОДІВКА

Як Вам всім відомо, Комітет "Звільнити їх" відбув 4-денну голодівку у Вінніпегу, яка скінчилася зустріччю з Прем'єром Трудо. Він представив справу звільнення Валентина Мороза Прем'єрові Косігніові, під час його поїзду в Канаді. Ця акція була успішною, але тепер Комітет має дуже великі довги. Просимо Вас, наша Громадо, підтримати нас фінансово, щоб покрити ці кошти.

(Бюро ССЖК, 67 Гарборд вул., Торонто, тел.: 921-8544)

EXCLUSIVE!

Валентин МОРОЗ

ПЕРШИЙ ДЕНЬ

Перший тюремний день — це безкінечність, заповнена болем. Абсолютно все: звуки, запахи, розміри, слова — зіткане з болем.

Перший тюремний день — це людина без шкіри. Кожний спогад — розпечена крапля, кожна думка — жарина.

Перший тюремний день — це світ, розрубаний на дві половини. Розрубано посередині кожний нерв. Основа, з якої родиться **хочу**, — тут. А корінці, якими воно занурюється у товщу буття — лишилися відрубані, там. Звичні **хочу** течуть звичними каналами до шару живої стихії — і неминуче доходять до місця розриву. І кожного разу — свій біль.

Перший день — це рослина з повислим у повітрі корінням, яке ні до чого не може прорости в порожнечі, і це найбільша мука, бо сенс коріння — у тому, щоб прорости.

Найстрашніше — замріятись. Тоді забуття створює докупи два свіжих розриви, і **хочу** досягає мети. Але раптове пробудження зненацька розриває ниточку, і біль, що починав препадати, спалахує знову.

Сильним — трудно. Усі їхні **хочу** дуже великі — ті, що привели за ґрати, і ті, що поривають на волю. Ні, то поєдинок **хочу** і мушу. То бій двох сатанинських **хочу** — обоє мускулясті і несамовиті, обоє з дужим, виразним пульсом, з міцним апетитом до життя, обоє вгодовані пружним, повнокровним організмом.

Слабим — спокійно. Їхні **хочу** — маленькі і мляві, вони ніколи не зрушать людину з місця. Часом і в таких заговорить **хочу** — але потім навки німіє, загипнотизоване страхом перед тюрмою. Ці не допють до дна, залякані гірким, і ніколи не знатимуть смаку.

Прийде час, і з кічків-ран повіростають нові корінці, проростуть до нового ґрунту і вбиратимуть нові соки, щоб нагосудувати вічно голодне людське **хочу**. Біль загусне і перетвориться у постійну, тривку тугу — важку і темну як смола. З кожним днем смола буде світліти і тверднути, аж поки не закам'яніє у прозорий кристаль чекання. Найчарівніша з волей — це воля, побачена крізь його затуманену товщу.

Б'є сокира часу до кришталевої брами — і вже стоїш на волі — п'яний, розгублений, і... знову без шкіри... Бо пролізти крізь ґрати неможливо — ні сюди, ні туди — не залишивши на них шкіру. Кожного разу — хай буде він сотим — тюрма забирає мито...

Потім будуть спогади, розповіді — все факти, факти, факти: смішні і страшні, бридкі і зворушливі. Але тюрма — то не факти. Тюрма — це людина без шкіри в перший день. Хто зуміє сказати про це — той розкаже про тюрму.

Та цього не розкажеш...

І все одно буде розказувати.

Так буде — потім, потім...

А сьогодні — перший день...

Івано-Франківськ, тюрма КГБ

The Old Man

виришувати найважливіші питання у нашій Церкві: свої єпископи і наш Верховний Архiepіскоп, чи чужа нам духом і обрядом римська курія. Дотеперішні керівники наших справ у курії, як кардинал Тіссеран і Фірсенберг, дали докази, що вони не тільки не можуть управляти справами нашої Церкви, але завели її до ліквідації.

Москва зліквідувала нашу Церкву в Україні (і то так Українську Автокефальну, як і українську Католицьку), а ватиканська дипломатія навіть не стала у її обороні. Однак дуже рішуче став в обороні нашої Церкви наш Первоєрарх Кардинал Йосиф Сліпий на папському синоді 23 жовтня цього року. Про виступ його заговорив увесь світ.

Після посвячення церкви святих Сергія і Вакха, Верховний Архiepіскоп скликав V Синод, який почав свої наради 31 жовтня в Римі. Римська курія і цього разу старалась перешкодити. Всі наші Владики помімо заборони відбувають свій Синод, на втіху і славу цілого нашого народу. Ввесь український нарід в тому і українські студенти, радіють гідною поставою нашого Первоєрар-

ха і його Синоду та запевняють ім повну беззастережну піддержку.

Христя Ковальська



Верховний архiepіскоп УКЦ
кардинал Йосиф Сліпий

"А В ТОЙ САМ ЧАС
У ВІННІПЕЗІ.."

ДОБРЕ СПИТЬ,
ЧИ НІ? ЯК
ВИРОСТЕ ТО
НАПЕВНО
БУДЕ НА
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- our intellectual poverty - part 2 of multiculturalism & ukrainianism
- bat'ko makhno and the ukrainian revolution
- quebec rejects multiculturalism
- the plight of the émigré: towards an analysis of ukraine